

Collective veto on nuclear force
► weighted voting system



Switzerland

Europe speaking with one voice is an illusion
will never happen.

Attitude of France has profoundly changed NATO
we must think of new solutions.



Reformed NATO on the basis of those
nations willing to integrate military
force U.S., U.K., Germany, Belgium,
Spain.

Denmark

Would like to participate in
integrated forces. NATO essential



U.K.

Military integration necessary
but founded on political consensus
— otherwise in crisis, nations will
simply opt out.
— I don't believe in forming
"in-groups" within NATO

U.K. note.

Organization in all aspects must
the embrace all institutions (leaving seat
warm for the French).

► Europe has not got relatively
stronger. U.S. has. Therefore,
central strength in NATO is U.S.
Some of the key organizations of NATO
must operate in U.S. rather
than Europe because that's
where decisions will be
made — and problems of
the next 10 years are
political, rather than military.

~~Norway~~

We must accept fact of
American preponderance
in next 10 years.

How can ~~we~~ we
reform our organization
so as to make that
power hear our views better.

Nuclear aspect - recognize
U.S. preponderance. must
work out method by which
other nations may have "a real say"
in strategy.

~~France~~

→ Situation has changed in
last 15 years. vis a vis U.S.
It is a mistake to insist on
preponderant U.S. strength.

→ Differences of opinion have
caused U.S. policy to be more
adaptable.

→ Soviet military aggression is not
the same as its war - we must
recognize this! NATO ~~not~~ should

France cont

late political gushers in
mind! All problems are not
military.

McCloy

perhaps we should be thankful
to De Gaulle for putting the problem and
challenge on the table and in the
open. We've known we had to,
but we've avoided it.

→ Policy involves return to
systems of nationalism which in
1914, and before, have been
quite unproductive. I believe this
is very serious. Nationalism stimulates
nationalism.

→ I fear - not so much a return
to isolationist - but that we might
withdraw from complexities of
NATO situation that we might
go back to a "polarist" situation.

When you舍掉 independence, flexibility
and nationalism. You risk going
back to pre-1914 "mida-wash".

→ we can very easily goadrift here

if we don't have high degree
of statesmanship I resist
replying to nationalism.

→ another problem is with
people of these countries. U.S.
people are confused. In France
the people misunderstand
it seem to believe De Gaulle is
right about "U.S. ordering our
bombs around".

De Gaulle says - no longer
very nervous (that's effect). I
question that.

But remember, problems are
not only military.

military threat as emerging east-west relationship. De Gaulle has had initiative. May revive still-alive European nationalism. While in short-run reinforces Germany's interest in NATO, may eventually cause Germany's nationalism.

► Urgent need for U.S. and NATO to formulate a new east-west relationship (because of Soviet internal changes, changes in East Europe, Sino-Soviet split.)

with East, will not be sufficient

just to try to preserve
aspiration

U.S. should realize its
strength & deal with self-confidence.

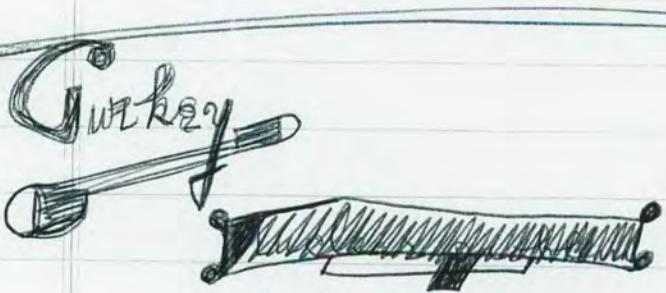


George Ball

NATO purposes

1. Defense
2. Deterrence
3. Settlement of European problem
(unification of Germany)

→ Combined, unified Command of
military - ready to go, essential



- Don't fragmentize or regionalize
- don't add other outside
matters or try to direct a
concerted foreign policy.

France (opposition)

still remains in alliance

but outside organization -

This is difficult to do

do not see advantages

⑧ my government's position

France now practically

isolated by proper action of 14

nations

Major detaching - will we lose?

Loss of French commander

NATO - What about Germany
(French troops there?)

De Gaulle's reasons

1. Psychological

France would do better

not linked or subordinated

to U.S. command when

military conflict in Asia

may expand and those involve
French in war in Far East.

(I don't think this risk exists
because NATO part has no
competence - none)

2. Detente with Soviet Union

will be more active when Atlantic
Union becomes weaker

~~for a period
under my
control~~

(my reply - detente was result of western union. NATO was the shield which put an end to Soviet subversion. fragile beginning of co-existence is product of atlantic cohesion. NATO can be source of dialogue for more flexible relations with east)

3. Contradiction between sovereignty of state, and integration of military force

De Gaulle has emphasized with to French people for building separate nuclear force that R.S. come into WWI ~~as~~ in 1917 and WWII in 1941

we must point out to public ~~as~~ opinion that this need for autonomy is what NATO can answer

Period of nationalism is a dangerous game. No fear now, I trust, but eventually Germany may become nationalistic also, and imitate France's desire for a free hand, also.

*French
opposed to
continued
management*

U.S. should please think
in future of ~~strengthening~~ common
management.

I hope Europe will have
greater share in management
and military responsibilities
of the alliance.

Nuclear weapons at least
of present trouble — we
mustn't just say we're
against proliferation — but
must give Europe more
power.

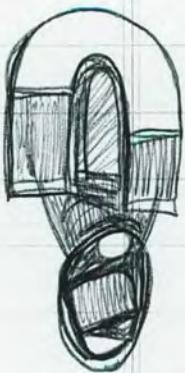
NATO should be continued and
I hope France will one
day take up its place
in it.

~~Germany~~ (Soviet Art)

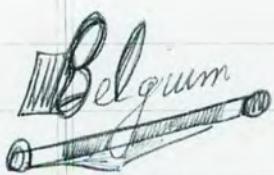
If U.S. came late in
2 wars - why not
keep them here?



Also, I'm afraid
French nationalism may lead to
greater nationalism on the part
of Germany.



Integration - means preparation
in peace time for common defense.
Also, common strategy in nuclear
field. This is necessary to
maintain credibility & deterrent.
More difficult and expensive, but
necessary, without France.



Wider scope for ~~NATO~~ not just
military integration.

We cannot isolate a
treaty or organization to one area
of the world.



Frankel

1. deterrence no longer is
military on ground but
U.S. nuclear power.

but NATO has other purposes and
usefulness.

~~Bowie~~Suggestions for action

1. Use of smaller groups
on a functional or
regional basis

2. Nuclear sharing

- McNamara Committee
- Collective Atlantic force
- European force

3. East-West policy

(trade, credit, arms
control, diplomatic activity
and German unity.)

- policy making body on a
continuous basis

I would add (for discussion)

4. Responsibility in other parts
of the world

- developing notion
- containment of
Chinese aggression

Collection _____ Series _____ Box _____ Folder _____

~~Netherlands~~

→ France is engaged in
"diplomacy by statements."

→ There will be repercussions in the
common market.

→ There should not be bilateral
dealing with France outside
NATO. Council should be kept in
Paris. Military might
will have to be moved. Should
not be moved to U.S. Nor to U.K.
(latter would give impression that in
conflict mainland might have to
abandon) (not to U.S.
because takes European
defense outside Europe)

→ Must give attention to
nuclear attraction, especially
by U.S. and U.K.

→ Difficult to see advantages to
France of their policy which
will tend to produce P.D. 19.4
conditions.

Collection _____ Series _____ Box _____ Folder _____

France (Opposition)

our diplomacy is dominated
by one man. I see nothing
wrong with some bilateral
conversations.



Opposition (U.S.)



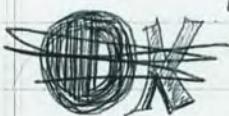
Nuclear sharing - non-proliferation

■ no hurry because U.S. & Soviet
can focus on bilateral pressure and
therefore we shouldn't wait on
this problem's solution to get at
NATO problems.



Holfeld

nuclear sharing



What is desired by Germany
if not complete sovereign
control



Germany is not represented
at SAC headquarters,
Special Committee of
McNamara is only an
exploratory committee

~~It~~ This is not enough
to reassume a European
non-nuclear nation.



Germany

→ We have never asked for control
over nuclear weapons. We
want to participate in
targeting, nuclear planning -
our say in the decision making
process.

→ We doubt the McNamara committee
can give us sufficient weight.

Erler (Socialist)

Reunification of Germany would be such a major change in world politics, I am convinced it cannot come about except with major political, nuclear & military changes toward nuclear disarmament.

But need more sharing of control on this continents more cooperation.





Morse

Nuclear proliferation

— NATO can have new
meaning by helping to solve this.

~~U.S.~~

nuclear control

~~Bowie~~
Most Europeans want to have
more than information as peace.
They want to be in on
things as a matter of right.

If U.S. (or France) get
special standing in NATO
because they have nuclear
weapons → then other nations
sooner or later will demand
such weapons



In answer to Holifield
Italy (See several notes)
What about a European
nuclear force with U.S. veto?
Couldn't U.S. come up with
such a suggestion & pass
it through their Congress.

Canada

We do not wish nor intend
to produce nuclear weapons,
though we have the power to do
so — This should not stand
in the way of expanding peaceful
use of nuclear power.

- ①  we reaffirm our support of
NATO which still has 15 members.
- ② Let's keep alliance together
③ strengthen & make it
more effective — we need
more political consultation
(we must remember it was not to
be a world-wide political
instrument) linked to geographic
concept. (Speaking Pearson's position)

Reuther
There is here
overemphasis on mechanics.

NATO is in trouble because
common fears are reduced.
Success

► WE need a new sense
) historic purpose
) Who's unfinished job
) Atlantic Community?
— building community
) peace.

► nationalism is dangerous

Harris

Country act
general on their
own self
interest
about unfortunate
isolation of U.S.

must be kept
to defense & deterrence

(unified
military
machinery)

dialogue & pressure

I hope I
will not
spend
but I'm not
talking about
becoming more
involved in
precipitating wars

some
conflicting
interests
especially
those matters
we should
talk about

1. greater detente
with Soviet Union
& Eastern Europe.
(expanding its membership
to political
dialogue & policy making)
(can do this
multilaterally)
2. Greater involvement
with the
developing world

we are rich; we are
strong
social world obligation

we should not be bound by what
we are against alone.

1. greater detente with Russia
& the Eastern World
2. prevention of causes of war in the
Third World

All countries, including
France, will see ~~the~~
Atlantic alliance as once again
serving their most vital interests



de Santo Silva

Comment on statement of Sen. Harris
on expansion of NATO to matters of
other parts of the world

Success of NATO has made
potential enemies more astute
of other parts of the world. NATO
members should show more
understanding of members' problems
in ~~of~~ other parts of the world. This
would should NATO solidarity.

Nuclear control

Fulham (U.S.)

Walter Reuther - "The idealists are the
pragmatists I am dry?"

UK

agree with Murphy. Duffin
Secy-General of NATO - we
should concentrate on NATO's
original mission as a
military alliance.

aid to developing
countries should not be a
role of NATO, but of other existing
agencies.

neither of helping with
detente is not NATO's role.
Detente is not helped but
made more difficult by
France's action. NATO has already
been a strong instrument
of detente.

Portugal

Involvement in other parts of
the world and make common
approach to Eastern Europe and
Soviet Union. Should not
overload NATO in other parts of
the world.

1. Shouldn't get involved in
Portugal in Angola. NATO has enough
to do.

2. Shouldn't make new approach
to East - because it would be unsuccessful
because it has military image. Countries

Portugal cont.

should be free to make its own approaches through its best channels.

de Santo Silva (Portugal)

I don't think NATO should get involved in problems of Angola. What would like is NATO members to have a better understanding and some kind of moral solidarity on these problems which involve western civilization.

Canadian

Nuclear power

Couldn't this be studied by NATO Councils now France has made it impossible to make much headway there - But, now, couldn't the remaining 11 make some progress.

Ambassador McGhee

1. Greatest threat to future of NATO lies in distrust or fear of Federal Republic of Germany. Germany should be allowed to make its case.

De Gaulle's action increases Germany's role. we mustn't make Germany a second class member of the alliance.

2. Scope of NATO - Gen. Harris said Europe must guard against isolation. U.S. is now involved. Soviets and Communist Chinese are global. ~~Europe~~ we are the only ones taking full world view. Europeans could help along side us. Of nations of Europeans individually and their collective agency doesn't take part, a great gap is created in western defense.

What about peace-keeping effort under aegis of NATO? Why not?

Congo ~~Holifield~~ nuclear

Special McNamara Committee has possibilities for solving the problem. Support and encouragement of 14 members will largely determine development.

NATO was in disarray for several years before DeGaulle. He had not perfected its procedures. Let us agree upon its defense and war plans. If we can't do this in times of peace - there is small chance for NATO to be an effective shield in times of war. If we can't do this, there is little reason to pour into it our most precious ~~secret~~ weapons.

Netherlands

quite the whole the U.S. has been free of the "Big Power Complex" but in this instance, they seem to exhibit it. We must have a greater spirit of equality and sharing among all NATO members.



Holifield Nuclear

By change of law and otherwise, were given much (classified) classified information and technical knowledge to NATO allies.

— all except info necessary or useful to construction of nuclear weapons or submarine. This is not antagonistic, but against proliferation and counter espionage and the risks involved in U.S. as well as in NATO member countries.

Morse amendment of McMahon is highly unlikely and any proposed nuclear sharing must come within framework of present law.

U.K. - Nato's role in keeping peace in world is attractive, but not very practical.

→ we don't have the ships and hardware to do so — even if it were politically advisable to do so.

→ I think there is resistance in developing world to NATO as policeman (such as in Cyprus) —

I believe this is role of U.N. and its collective voice more than De Gaulle's action.

U. R.

Europe's world should not be as a blood donor in the developing world



McNamee

Europe has forces. U.S. has transport.



I don't see how a group of people in the world with science and other potential power can refuse to play a world role — and NATO Council can serve as forum.

Holifield

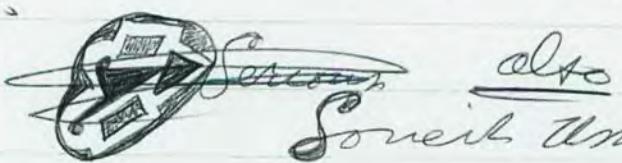
I disagree with Cong. Morse (Repub) as Chm. of Joint Committee on Atomic Energy and member of the Majority Party.

We've modified McMahon Act on a number of occasions — 3 times in regard to NATO. I wouldn't want to leave impression that Congress would not look on McMahon Act as dead letter, but as living, breathing thing.

France (opposition)

Quotes Lippmann for practically opposing De Gaulle's position because ~~balance~~ equilibrium of power is established by U.S.

France is to get most advantages geography ~~not~~ allows it.



Soviet Union believes France's independence is a bad example for the countries of Eastern Europe.

Johnson (U.S.)

I think McGhee's position is not as good as ^(U.K.) Buckman's about U.N.'s role —

but one of problem in U.N. is that everyone has a block except Atlantic community — this lack of unity in U.N. among us is striking. We do not concert our policies in U.N. ~~as much~~ nearly as much as we can and we should. We ought to do a better job than we ever.

McGee

U.N. has done excellent work in peace-keeping, though there's been some disillusionment - But it's asymptotic that it can't function in ~~and~~ ^{and} war situation.

U.S. won't forever do it alone.

Prince Bernhard

Consequently NATO should be maintained as an alliance and as an organization.

agreed

Soviet posture has changed since creation - over aggression is not expected. But if NATO disapeared there would be a very dangerous situation, although new Soviet expansionist policy military integration should be continued.

General and strong desire to avoid further alienation of France and keep door open - But to strengthen & maintain NATO in spite of French action

FRH cont.

not solved

Showed we ~~do~~ use present situation to adopt and adjust and leave more fundamental changes to a later period.

The effort to keep going is already a hard enough goal without adding more problems.

not solved questions:

1. Stronger policies and integration - for some nations even though all don't ~~do~~ want to.
large opinion that NATO is essentially a security pact.
large opinion that smaller groups should be avoided.

2. Nuclear sharing
enormous discrepancies in strength between U.S. and Europe. Strong desire of Europe for stronger voice in all decisions involving nuclear power. Disappointed no more concrete proposals to Cong. Holifield's question as to how this may be done.

3. no answer whether just security or stronger effort the common posture vis a vis the outside world.

for Andrew

widening gap between developing & developed not only nations is dangerous because it threatens the stability of the world, but also because it is an affront to our consciences.

needs

between donors

1. arrangement of recipients for effectiveness (World Bank & ~~other~~ other international organizations). Proper domestic policies more important than amounts. (Otherwise disappointment & frustration ~~occurs~~ occurs for recipients, but more importantly for donors, which are liable to result in reduction. WZ must not be woolly-headed about this for fear of neo-colonialism. We don't have the right not to do this) International organizations can improve conditions easier, but majority of aid will continue to be bilateral for the foreseeable future.

2. Donors must work together

much more closely with coherent plans for working out priorities. U.S. has anti-scatterization policy but WZ need this on cooperative basis among us all.



⑩ OECD Development assistant Committee must be made more I than we have to date. This is the means by which the Atlantic Community could do more together in aid.

⑪ More attention to technical assistance, training, transfer of no-how. ~~⑫~~ Bound to be effective and successful. U.N. ~~⑪~~ has given absolute priority here and were expanding. (Its advantages, of course, I being chiefest).

⑫ Concentrate on points of breakthrough in science & technology, desalination, pest control, above all: population control. latter is an important form I aid.

⑬ Support International aid Programs. (will by 1970 have gone from 14% to 18% of the gross aid total)

International Development Association funds must be replenish shortly - U.N. ^(development) ~~program~~ must be supported
World Bank must continue to be in a leadership program.

my questions

What percentage of
GDP or other measure
are 15 NATO members
devoting to aid.

What about China and
Soviet Union? Japan?

White (CAT)

EEC is not coming
to grips with
their responsibility
~~with~~ with impending failure
in Kennedy round.

aid is not matter of philanthropy
It ought to be considered as a
matter of national interest, an
integral part of national policy.



developing

Greater cohesion is building
on article 2 or some other
solution - or else
"commn bat will continue
to sprung leaks & perhaps be
hopelessly wrecked"

- paraphrasing Lincoln - "the world
cannot long endure half rich
and half poor, particularly
if the rich are getting richer
and the poor are getting poorer."

Property

Federal Republican

1. Integration essential

► reform of NATO necessary

A. European unification

B. European voice increase even before unity

C. Reform for more fair joint action

D. Change in military & nuclear control

not accept non-proliferation

but we want participation in every decision-making stage

► collective system
- U.S. veto
- European veto

► more participation in crisis management - disarmament agreement

Better monetary system

Better coordination of aid to underdeveloped world.